



The Negative Campaigning Comparative Expert Survey

Questionnaire

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Q1

For which country you are completing this questionnaire?

country

Drop-down list

Response is required (mandatory question)

Information (all respondents)

Important information

Except when clearly specified, all questions refer only to the most recent [election_name] that took place on [election_date] in [country]

Q2

During election campaigns, parties and candidates sometimes rely on negative campaigning, defined as talking about the opponents in the race by criticizing their programs, attacking their ideas and accomplishments, questioning their qualifications, and so on.

Positive campaigning is the opposite: talking about one's own accomplishments, qualifications, programs and ideas by praising them.

Based on such definitions and your knowledge of what candidates and parties said, would you say that the campaign taken as a whole before the most recent [election_name] was exclusively negative, exclusively positive or somewhere in between? Please provide a score between -10 (exclusively negative) and 10 (exclusively positive).

The campaign taken as a whole was...

tone_campaign

-10 'exclusively negative'

0 'equally negative and positive'

+10 'exclusively positive'

Draggable bars

Response is required (mandatory question)

Q3

Consider the following examples of campaign messages. Would you say that they are very negative, very positive or somewhere in between? Please provide a score between -10 (very negative) and 10 (very positive):

... I care about people	vignette1
... Inflation dropped during my term in office	vignette2
... Unemployment dropped during my term in office, whereas under my opponent it increased	vignette3
... Under my opponent's administration the economy has stagnated	vignette4
... You cannot trust my opponent	vignette5
... My opponent is dishonest and corrupt	vignette6

-10 'very negative' to +10 'very positive'

Draggable bars

Order of questions in battery randomized

Q4

When thinking of the most recent *[election_name]*, do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

... Voters were frequently exposed to campaign messages or events	sal_votexpo
... The public was very interested in the election	sal_pubint
... The race was not competitive, the winner was clearly known beforehand	sal_racecomp
... This election campaign was longer than usual for a <i>[election_type]</i> in <i>[country]</i>	sal_camplong

0 'disagree strongly'

1 'disagree somewhat'

2 'neither disagree nor agree'

3 'agree somewhat'

4 'agree strongly'

Q5

When thinking of the electoral campaign taken as a whole before the most recent [\[election_name\]](#), how often would you say that parties and candidates relied on the following types of messages? Please provide a score between 0 (never) and 10 (exclusively)

... Praised their own policy (e.g., 'My plan will create millions of jobs')	ft_praisepo
... Attacked the policy of their opponents (e.g., 'Under my opponent's administration the economy has stagnated')	ft_attackpo
... Praised their own character (e.g., 'I care about people, I am honest')	ft_praisech
... Attacked the character of their opponents (e.g., 'You cannot trust my opponent, my opponent is corrupt')	ft_attackch

0 'never' to 10 'exclusively'

Response is required (mandatory question)

Q6

And how often would you say that parties and candidates, overall ...

... Defended their opinions and programs against attacks from their opponents	atk_defens
... Attacked the family or physical appearance of other candidates	atk_famphy
... Used uncivil language such as harsh, shrill, or pejorative adjectives towards other candidates	atk_uncivil
... Used attack messages that provided irrelevant information to the voters	atk_irrel
... Used attack messages that provided relevant or useful information to the voters	atk_rele

0 'never'
 1 'rarely'
 2 'sometimes'
 3 'often'
 4 'all the time'

Response is required (mandatory question)

Q7

The following questions ask your opinion about the behaviour of specific parties and candidates. When considering the electoral campaigns of the following actors during the most recent [\[election_name\]](#), would you say that their campaign was exclusively negative, exclusively positive or somewhere in between? Please provide a score between -10 (exclusively negative) and 10 (exclusively positive)

... [party1]	tone_party1
... [party2]	tone_party2
... [party3]	tone_party3
... [party4]	tone_party4
... [party5]	tone_party5
... [party6]	tone_party6
... [party7]	tone_party7
... [party8]	tone_party8
... [party9]	tone_party9
... [party10]	tone_party10
... [candidate1]	tone_cand1
... [candidate2]	tone_cand2
... [candidate3]	tone_cand3
... [candidate4]	tone_cand4
... [candidate5]	tone_cand5
... [candidate6]	tone_cand6
... [candidate7]	tone_cand7
... [candidate8]	tone_cand8
... [candidate9]	tone_cand9
... [candidate10]	tone_cand10

-10 'exclusively negative'
 0 'equally negative and positive'
 +10 'exclusively positive'

Draggable bars

No party-related questions asked for presidential elections (candidates only)

Complete list of all parties and candidates, by election, can be found in the appendix of this document

Response is required (mandatory question)

Q8

Independent of the use of political attacks and criticisms, political parties and candidates often make use of emotional appeals, that is, campaign messages that are intended to provoke deep emotional responses in those who are exposed to them. Among the most important emotional appeals are 'feel-good' appeals, intended to convey hope, enthusiasm and even pride in the public by delivering messages and an imagery associated with success and good times

Examples of 'feel-good' appeals [hold your mouse here]

Examples appearing when mouse is hovered over text:

- . There's good news in your neighbourhood. The future looks bright for a generation of young people
- . The threat of violence and drugs is being erased
- . The economy is recovering fast and the unemployment rate is dropping
- . Children are better protected from crime than ever before

When considering the electoral campaigns of the following actors during the most recent [election_name], how often would you say they used 'feel-good' appeals? Please provide a score between 0 (no use) and 10 (high use)

... [party1]	feelgood_party1
... [party2]	feelgood_party2
... [party3]	feelgood_party3
... [party4]	feelgood_party4
... [party5]	feelgood_party5
... [party6]	feelgood_party6
... [party7]	feelgood_party7
... [party8]	feelgood_party8
... [party9]	feelgood_party9
... [party10]	feelgood_party10
... [candidate1]	feelgood_cand1
... [candidate2]	feelgood_cand2
... [candidate3]	feelgood_cand3
... [candidate4]	feelgood_cand4
... [candidate5]	feelgood_cand5
... [candidate6]	feelgood_cand6
... [candidate7]	feelgood_cand7
... [candidate8]	feelgood_cand8
... [candidate9]	feelgood_cand9
... [candidate10]	feelgood_cand10

0 'no use' to 10 'high use' (draggable bars)

No party-related questions asked for presidential elections (candidates only)

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Response is required (mandatory question)

A second type of emotional appeals are 'fear' appeals, intended to awaken and fuel the anxieties of the public by delivering worrisome messages and imagery focused on problems and threats

Examples of 'fear' appeals [hold your mouse here]

Examples appearing when mouse is hovered over text:

- It's happening right now in your neighbourhood. A generation of young people is in danger. Violence and drugs threaten to destroy their future
- The streets of our country are in turmoil. We need law and order! Without it our nation cannot survive
- The average temperature of the planet is increasing rapidly. We have to stop climate change before it's too late
- More children are victim of crime than ever before

When considering the electoral campaigns of the following actors during the most recent [election_name], how often would you say they used 'fear' appeals? Please provide a score between 0 (no use) and 10 (high use)

... [party1]	fear_party1
... [party2]	fear_party2
... [party3]	fear_party3
... [party4]	fear_party4
... [party5]	fear_party5
... [party6]	fear_party6
... [party7]	fear_party7
... [party8]	fear_party8
... [party9]	fear_party9
... [party10]	fear_party10
... [candidate1]	fear_cand1
... [candidate2]	fear_cand2
... [candidate3]	fear_cand3
... [candidate4]	fear_cand4
... [candidate5]	fear_cand5
... [candidate6]	fear_cand6
... [candidate7]	fear_cand7
... [candidate8]	fear_cand8
... [candidate9]	fear_cand9
... [candidate10]	fear_cand10

0 'no use' to 10 'high use' (draggable bars)

No party-related questions asked for presidential elections (candidates only)

Complete list of all parties and candidates, by election, can be found in the appendix of this document

Response is required (mandatory question)

Q10

Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not apply to [candidate 1 - candidate10]. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. You should rate the extent to which the pair of traits applies to [candidate 1 - candidate10], even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.

In your opinion, [candidate 1 - candidate10] might be someone who is...

... Extraverted, enthusiastic	bfi_c1_cand1
... Critical, quarrelsome	bfi_c2_cand1
... Dependable, self-disciplined	bfi_c3_cand1
... Anxious, easily upset	bfi_c4_cand1
... Open to new experiences, complex	bfi_c5_cand1
... Reserved, quiet	bfi_c6_cand1
... Sympathetic, warm	bfi_c7_cand1
... Disorganized, careless	bfi_c8_cand1
... Calm, emotionally stable	bfi_c9_cand1
... Conventional, uncreative	bfi_c10_cand1

0 'disagree strongly'

1 'disagree somewhat'

2 'neither disagree nor agree'

3 'agree somewhat'

4 'agree strongly'

Questions asked for one candidate only, chosen randomly among selected candidates. See Codebook for more details about selection of candidates for personality questions. Name of the variables as shown (e.g., bfi_c1_cand1) varies according to the specific candidate (bfi_c1_cand1 for Candidate 1, bfi_c1_cand2 for Candidate 2, and so forth)

Complete list of all parties and candidates, by election, can be found in the appendix of this document

Q11

Next, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, related to personality traits that may or may not apply to [\[candidate 1 - candidate10\]](#).

In your opinion, [\[candidate 1 - candidate10\]](#) might be someone who ...

... Wants to be admired by others	triad_c1_cand1
... Shows a lack of remorse	triad_c2_cand1
... Might manipulate others to succeed	triad_c3_cand1
... Wants attention from others	triad_c4_cand1
... Tends to be callous or insensitive	triad_c5_cand1
... Tends to use flattery to succeed	triad_c6_cand1

0 'disagree strongly'

1 'disagree somewhat'

2 'neither disagree nor agree'

3 'agree somewhat'

4 'agree strongly'

Questions asked for one candidate only, chosen randomly among selected candidates. See Codebook for more details about selection of candidates for personality questions. Name of the variables as shown (e.g., [triad_c1_cand1](#)) varies according to the specific candidate ([triad_c1_cand1](#) for Candidate 1, [triad_c1_cand2](#) for Candidate 2, and so forth)

Complete list of all parties and candidates, by election, can be found in the appendix of this document

Q12

And how would you say that the following statements apply to [\[candidate 1 - candidate10\]](#)?

In your opinion, [\[candidate 1 - candidate10\]](#) might be someone who ...

... Identifies with the common people and celebrates their authenticity	popul_c1_cand1
... Treats opponents with respect	popul_c2_cand1
... Uses an informal style and popular language	popul_c3_cand1
... Uses an anti-establishment and anti-elite rhetoric	popul_c4_cand1

0 'disagree strongly'

1 'disagree somewhat'

2 'neither disagree nor agree'

3 'agree somewhat'

4 'agree strongly'

Questions asked for one candidate only, chosen randomly among selected candidates. See Codebook for more details about selection of candidates for personality questions. Name of the variables as shown (e.g., [popul_c1_cand1](#)) varies according to the specific candidate ([popul_c1_cand1](#) for Candidate 1, [popul_c1_cand2](#) for Candidate 2, and so forth)

Complete list of all parties and candidates, by election, can be found in the appendix of this document

Q13

The following questions are about media and journalism in [country].
Consider all national news media in [country] (that is, newspapers, television, radio and online-only media).
How much attention do the news media as a whole provide to the following issues, in your opinion?

... Campaigning by parties and candidates in general	mediaatn_camp
... Individual candidates, their characters and motivations	mediaatn_indiv
... Policy differences between competing parties and candidates	mediaatn_policy
... Attacks and negative campaigning between parties, candidates	mediaatn_attacks
... The sensational aspects of events and stories	mediaatn_sensat

- 0 'no attention'
- 1 'a little attention'
- 2 'some attention'
- 3 'much attention'
- 4 'a great deal of attention'

Q14

Thinking again of all national news media as a whole, how much would you agree or disagree with the following statements?

... Media represent all major opinions	mediaqual_majop
... Media provide an accurate representation of the facts motivations	mediaqual_accur
... A few corporations own most of the media	mediaqual_own
... Media reflect the major political divisions	mediaqual_polop
... Media face a strong commercial pressure	mediaqual_compre

- 0 'disagree strongly'
- 1 'disagree somewhat'
- 2 'neither disagree nor agree'
- 3 'agree somewhat'
- 4 'agree strongly'

Q15

Media might provide more attention to some actors, and less to others. How much did we see any of the following parties and candidates in the national news media in [country] during the campaign before the most recent [election_name]? For the following parties and candidates please provide a score between 0 (extremely low media coverage) to 100 (extremely high media coverage) by dragging the bars

... [party1]	mediacover_party1
... [party2]	mediacover_party2
... [party3]	mediacover_party3
... [party4]	mediacover_party4
... [party5]	mediacover_party5
... [party6]	mediacover_party6
... [party7]	mediacover_party7
... [party8]	mediacover_party8
... [party9]	mediacover_party9
... [party10]	mediacover_party10
... [candidate1]	mediacover_cand1
... [candidate2]	mediacover_cand2
... [candidate3]	mediacover_cand3
... [candidate4]	mediacover_cand4
... [candidate5]	mediacover_cand5
... [candidate6]	mediacover_cand6
... [candidate7]	mediacover_cand7
... [candidate8]	mediacover_cand8
... [candidate9]	mediacover_cand9
... [candidate10]	mediacover_cand10

0 'extremely low media coverage' to 100 'extremely high media coverage' (draggable bars)

No party-related questions asked for presidential elections (candidates only)

Complete list of all parties and candidates, by election, can be found in the appendix of this document

Q16

Consider the following parties. During the most recent *[election_name]*, against which other party they went the most negative, in your opinion?

... <i>[party1]</i>	target_party1
... <i>[party2]</i>	target_party2
... <i>[party3]</i>	target_party3
... <i>[party4]</i>	target_party4
... <i>[party5]</i>	target_party5
... <i>[party6]</i>	target_party6
... <i>[party7]</i>	target_party7
... <i>[party8]</i>	target_party8
... <i>[party9]</i>	target_party9
... <i>[party10]</i>	target_party10

For each party, drop-down list with all other parties (including the option 'No one specifically')

Example: For *party1*, the answer options are:

1. *[party2]*
2. *[party3]*
3. *[party4]*
4. *[party5]*
5. *[party6]*
6. *[party7]*
7. *[party8]*
8. *[party9]*
9. *[party10]*
10. No one specifically

No party-related questions asked for presidential elections (candidates only)

Complete list of all parties and candidates, by election, can be found in the appendix of this document

Q17

Consider the following candidates. During the most recent [\[election_name\]](#), against which other candidate they went the most negative, in your opinion?

... [candidate1]	target_cand1
... [candidate2]	target_cand2
... [candidate3]	target_cand3
... [candidate4]	target_cand4
... [candidate5]	target_cand5
... [candidate6]	target_cand6
... [candidate7]	target_cand7
... [candidate8]	target_cand8
... [candidate9]	target_cand9
... [candidate10]	target_cand10

For each candidate, drop-down list with all other candidates (including the option 'No one specifically').

Example: For [candidate1](#), the answer options are:

1. [\[candidate2\]](#)
2. [\[candidate3\]](#)
3. [\[candidate4\]](#)
4. [\[candidate5\]](#)
5. [\[candidate6\]](#)
6. [\[candidate7\]](#)
7. [\[candidate8\]](#)
8. [\[candidate9\]](#)
9. [\[candidate10\]](#)

10. No one specifically

No party-related questions asked for presidential elections (candidates only)

Complete list of all parties and candidates, by election, can be found in the appendix of this document

Q18

And would you say that the following parties and candidates mostly used policy or character attacks in their communications and campaign events?

... [party1]	ft_party1
... [party2]	ft_party2
... [party3]	ft_party3
... [party4]	ft_party4
... [party5]	ft_party5
... [party6]	ft_party6
... [party7]	ft_party7
... [party8]	ft_party8
... [party9]	ft_party9
... [party10]	ft_party10
... [candidate1]	ft_cand1
... [candidate2]	ft_cand2
... [candidate3]	ft_cand3
... [candidate4]	ft_cand4
... [candidate5]	ft_cand5
... [candidate6]	ft_cand6
... [candidate7]	ft_cand7
... [candidate8]	ft_cand8
... [candidate9]	ft_cand9
... [candidate10]	ft_cand10

1 'exclusively policy attacks'

2 'mostly policy attacks'

3 'equally policy and character attack'

4 'mostly character attacks'

5 'exclusively character attacks'

77 'not applicable'

No party-related questions asked for presidential elections (candidates only)

Complete list of all parties and candidates, by election, can be found in the appendix of this document

Response is required (mandatory question)

Q19

And on which topics would you say the following parties and candidates attacked their opponents most frequently? Please select as many cases as appropriate, by selecting the topic that the actors cited most frequently in their negative messages

... [party1]	isatk_i1_party1
... [party2]	isatk_i1_party2
... [party3]	isatk_i1_party3
... [party4]	isatk_i1_party4
... [party5]	isatk_i1_party5
... [party6]	isatk_i1_party6
... [party7]	isatk_i1_party7
... [party8]	isatk_i1_party8
... [party9]	isatk_i1_party9
... [party10]	isatk_i1_party10
... [candidate1]	isatk_i1_cand1
... [candidate2]	isatk_i1_cand2
... [candidate3]	isatk_i1_cand34
... [candidate4]	isatk_i1_cand4
... [candidate5]	isatk_i1_cand5
... [candidate6]	isatk_i1_cand6
... [candidate7]	isatk_i1_cand7
... [candidate8]	isatk_i1_cand8
... [candidate9]	isatk_i1_cand9
... [candidate10]	isatk_i1_cand10

Multiple choices allowed among the following options:

Issue 1: Education, research

Issue 2: Defense, foreign policy

Issue 3: Health care

Issue 4: Spending, deficit

Issue 5: Immigration, asylum, refugees

Issue 6: Taxation

Issue 7: Job market, unemployment, poverty

Issue 8: Religion, morality

Issue 9: Environment, climate

Issue 10: Crime, security

Other

No party-related questions asked for presidential elections (candidates only)

Name of the variables as shown (e.g., [isatk_i1_party1](#)) varies according to the specific issue selected; thus, [isatk_i1_party1](#) is for issue 1 (Education, research) and Candidate 1, [isatk_i2_party1](#) is for issue 2 (Defense, foreign policy) and Candidate 1, and so forth

Complete list of all parties and candidates, by election, can be found in the appendix of this document

Q20

The next questions are about your opinions on electoral campaigns in general. Thinking about electoral campaigns, to what extent do you agree with the following statements?

... The use of negative campaigning increases citizens' attention and interest in the race	campop_ctzatt
... Attacks and criticism increase popular mistrust in political elites	campop_mistrust
... I personally dislike when candidates use policy attacks	campop_dskpolatk
... I personally dislike when candidates use personal attacks	campop_dkspersatk

0 'disagree strongly'
 1 'disagree somewhat'
 2 'neither disagree nor agree'
 3 'agree somewhat'
 4 'agree strongly'

Q21

Overall, how familiar would you say you are with election campaigns in [country]? Please provide a score between 0 (not at all familiar) to 10 (very familiar)

Familiarity with electoral campaigns in this country familiar

0 'not at all familiar' to 10 'very familiar' (draggable bars)

Q22

And finally, some last questions about yourself.
 Do you currently work in... (select as many as appropriate)

... University	work_uni
... Government or the public sector	work_gvt
... Private business or industry	work_priv
... Private non-profit sector/NGOs	work_noprof
... International agency	work_intrn
... National or international news media	work_media
... Other	work_other

Multiple choices allowed

Q23

What is the highest degree that you completed?

educ

- 0 'High School degree or less'
- 1 'Bachelor, undergraduate or equivalent'
- 2 'Master, postgraduate or equivalent'
- 3 'PhD, MD, Doctorate or equivalent'
- 66 'Other'

Q24

Which of the following disciplines represent fields in which you have expertise? (select as many as appropriate)

- ... Elections and electoral behaviour
- ... Political communication
- ... Media studies and journalism
- ... Comparative politics
- ... Political psychology
- ... Party politics
- ... Methods and Research design
- ... Politics in [country]
- ... Sociology and anthropology
- ... Other

discpl_elect
discpl_polcomm
discpl_media
discpl_compar
discpl_polpsy
discpl_partypol
discpl_methods
discpl_country
discpl_socanthr
discpl_other

Multiple choices allowed

Q25

How many years have you lived in [country], if at all?

yearsincountry

Open-ended

Q26

Are you a citizen of [country]?

citizen

- 0 'no'
- 1 'yes'

Q27

<i>What is your gender?</i>	gender
0 'male' 1 'female' 2 'other'	

Q28

<i>What is your year of birth?</i>	yearbirth
Drop-down list	

Q29

<i>Who did you support in the most recent [election_name]?</i>	votechoice
1 [party1] or [candidate1] 2 [party2] or [candidate2] 3 [party3] or [candidate3] 4 [party4] or [candidate4] 5 [party5] or [candidate5] 6 [party6] or [candidate6] 7 [party7] or [candidate7] 8 [party8] or [candidate8] 9 [party9] or [candidate9] 10 [party10] or [candidate10] 66 'other' 77 'I did/could not vote for this election' 88 'prefer not to say'	
<p>Voting options are generated automatically based on the name of actors competing in the election. For Presidential elections, vote options = competing candidates For Legislative elections, vote options = competing parties Complete list of all parties and candidates, by election, can be found in the appendix of this document</p>	

Q30

Below is a 10-point scale on which the political views are arranged from left to right. Where would you place your views on this scale?

Placement on the left-right scale

lrscale

1 'left' to 10 'right'

Q31

Overall, how easy or difficult did you find the questions? Please provide a score between 0 (very difficult to understand) and 10 (very easy to understand)?

How difficult or easy did you find the questions?

easy

0 'very difficult to understand' 10 'very easy to understand'